

Safe in the city

The possible influences of urbanisation on the safety feeling of inhabitants of Semarang, Indonesia

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Safe in the city

A case-study about the influence of urbanisation on the safety feeling of inhabitants of the city of Semarang, Java, Indonesia

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Preface

Dear reader,

In front of you lies my bachelor thesis written to complete my Bachelor's degree in Geography, Planning and Environmental sciences of Raboud University Nijmegen. The data collection of this research took place in Semarang, Java, Indonesia. It was a huge experience to conduct my research in a completely different part of the world than what I was used to. Next to the things I learned about conducting research in a foreign country, I also enjoyed the climate and the beautiful nature in Indonesia very much. I went there on a trip of about a month with my two student colleagues Madeloes de Win and Anne Beune. At first therefore I want to thank them for accompanying me on this amazing journey where I learned a lot, as it was very interesting and fun as well. Not only did we explore the city of Semarang together, we helped each other wherever we could by giving feedback and thinking along with each other's research. Moreover the three of us studied and worked a lot together in the Netherlands too.

Furthermore I want to thank the Unika University for giving me the opportunity to come to Indonesia and to conduct my research on the beautiful island of Java. People as Mrs. Oely Sidabalok who arranged contacts for interviews and learned me a lot about the city of Semarang. Also Mitziko, a student at Unika University who helped me with almost all my data collection on the streets. She translated my interviews, gave information and tips about possible research areas and overall established the connection between me and the Indonesian people. Conducting this research in Indonesia gave me chance of seeing a part of the world I otherwise would probably have never been to. Talking with regular Indonesian people in the streets of Semarang gave me new insights on how people live and behave in places unfamiliar to me.

I want to thank my supervisor Lothar Smith for his feedback, tips and clear help on how to write this bachelor thesis. At last a little special thanks to my friends, roommates and family for giving me emotional support and for helping me stay motivated.

I would like to contribute this thesis to my lovely dog Dribbel who sadly past away while I was in Indonesia.

R.I.P Dribbel (2006-2019)

Hidde Hesselings

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Summary

This research focuses on the possible influences of urbanisation on the feeling of safety among inhabitants of Semarang, Indonesia. This research is about the social and subjective side of the concept of safety, in other words it is about the way inhabitants interpret it. Safe in the city refers to the concept of safety influenced by urbanisation with several urban processes or concepts as causes and consequences in between these two. Because urbanisation is one of the major concepts - if not so - the major concept in modern-day geography, the main question of this research combines urbanisation with safety feeling. Since there is done much research about urbanisation and movements inside cities located in the Global North of the world, there is much space left bank when it comes to cities in the Global South. Due to the fact much of the urbanisation is happening in relatively big cities in Africa and Asia, it is here where a gap in knowledge lies. Therefore this research aims to give new insights in the process of urbanisation not in the Western World, but by conducting research in Semarang, a relatively big city in the Global South. As also much previous done research about safety focusses on the more quantitative side of safety, with this thesis the social and qualitative side of story is told. While other researches are putting much weight on factors such as crime rates, in this thesis the interpretation of inhabitants and their stance on safety is what measures the safety feeling.

Via the concepts of connectedness, poverty caused crime, land subsidence and social vulnerability the influence of urbanisation on the overall safety feeling is tested. Consequently the main question of this research is:

To which extent does urbanisation influences the safety feeling of inhabitants of Semarang, Indonesia?

In order to answer this question - and this way achieving the research goal - three sub-questions were to be asked.

How do inhabitants of Semarang interpret their safety feeling?

Is there a visible change in safety feeling?

Is there much urban growth in Semarang? And how is it growing?

To get answers on these sub-questions and eventually the main research question, there is made use of a qualitative data collection for this research. By conducting interviews with stakeholders and experts information is gathered upon the general trend of urbanisation and safety feeling in Semarang. For this research I focused on two districts of Semarang, namely Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok. The districts are known to have a very different history but nowadays have several comparable aspects. In fact both are famous for their high density and high level of criminality. By having informal conversations with inhabitants of these districts, the second part of the data collection is gathered. Questions were asked on how inhabitants interpret their safety, how they saw urban growth and what they furthermore thought about their district or the city itself. The expert interviews and the informal conversations were held between April 2nd and April 9th. At the same time observations in the two districts were done and all together this was enough to gain a clear image on how the districts looked, how inhabitants thought about their safety feeling and how experts thought about both urban growth and safety.

In the streets of Semarang it came forward inhabitants are often very positive, not only in terms of how they interpret safety, but also in terms of the great flow of new incoming people and how the city handled this. Inhabitants of the districts Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok are not wealthy and often struggle to survive. Together with their whole family working in informal or dangerous jobs,

most inhabitants are able to sustain an income barely enough to make ends meet. Due to these living conditions they are used to, their life standard is not high. Indonesians are very humble people and mostly look optimistic towards possible problems. Therefore when experts told me there was much criminality happening in the districts this research focused on, inhabitants told me the opposite. Inhabitants really are not bothered by small crimes and therefore feel very safe in their own districts and because this research is about their interpretation of safety, it is the feeling of inhabitants upon which conclusions are based.

As crime turned out neither to be an actual problem nor a real fear for inhabitants of the two districts, the other possible causes for an expected decrease in safety feeling were to be tested. In both Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok overbuilding as a consequence of the density in the districts proved to be a real issue. Consequently this overbuilding led to land subsidence and more flooding. Although more improvements from the government to higher roads and to install sewage systems to prevent floods, land subsidence continued to be a problem in past twenty years in Semarang. Reinforced by climate change, tides are getting higher and by an increasing population (only in Bandarharjo), this flooding seemed to be the number one factor for inhabitants to feel less safe. Another factor which turned out to be serious cause for the decrease in safety feeling among inhabitants is connectedness. As supposed by the conceptual model, urbanisation and therefore more people entering the city and entering a new neighbourhood, causes a decrease in connectedness in a certain neighbourhood. Because of the new people entering not everybody knows each other anymore and a loss in trust and togetherness emerges.

Because in Tambak Lorok the great population growing days turned out to be over, there are no conclusions based upon the data collected in the district. But information about Tambak Lorok was a good indicator for processes in Semarang as a whole and for the district of Bandarharjo. As for Bandarharjo there could be concluded urbanisation has a somewhat negative influence on safety feeling. Due to urbanisation, connectedness decreases and due to increased land subsidence, social vulnerability increases. Though criminality proved to be not a factor for inhabitants to feel less safe, the other factors were enough to conclude an overall little decrease in safety feeling.

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1 Introduction

In our contemporary society we have come to reach the point where the majority of the world's population lives in cities. For the year 2018 about 55% of the world's population is urban and this number is set to be only increasing in the coming decades (World Bank Group, 2019). The cause for this number to be increasing, is the worldwide trend of urbanisation. Urbanisation is the movement of people from rural areas to more urban areas for a variety of reasons including work or family related causes. Urbanisation is often described as a multidimensional phenomenon that affects all facets of community development. In the context of developing countries, urbanisation has been interpreted as the process of transformation of a settlement from rural to urban, involving changes in the physical, demographic, economic, and social characteristics of the former (Nsiah-Gyabaah, 2004). Wirth (1938) defines a city as 'a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals'. The diversity in this cities is high, which is often caused by the great migration of people coming from rural areas nearby the big city.

Many has been written about urbanisation in cities in the western part of the world, yet much space is left blank on the topic of urbanisation in cities in less developed countries. And although urbanisation is a worldwide phenomenon, a significant proportion of urban population growth has been, and will be, concentrated in developing countries where urbanisation is described as unplanned and unsustainable (Misilu et al., 2010; UNDESA/PD, 2012). And as this kind of informal housing is not a bad thing as such, it does causes a lot of qualitative low-standard houses. People are struggling to earn a decent income and live in poor circumstances, it is here where criminality can emerge very fast.

Giddens (2013) says modern urbanism is ordered according to quite different principles from those which set off the pre-modern city from the countryside in earlier times. Poverty is compelling rural residents to relocate to urban areas. Regrettably urban areas do not always offer better living conditions.

"In many developing countries cities are growing on a rate so fast, it causes a vast quantity of uncontrolled housing, which consists of slums as well as squatters. In the belief that it provides security (...) a large number of these youngsters who move to the city attempt to enter local or federal government employment." (Sinclair, 1978).

Urban growth in the Global South is set to be virtually synonymous with the expansion of slums and informal settlements. Estimated figures from UNICEF say one out of every three children live in inadequate housing. Hence these houses lack both safety and security (Fatuma Chege, 2014). So the question about how safe life in a city actually is, rises very quickly. It is exactly this where the interest for this research came up. Because what could be the possible consequences for a city growing on such a fast rate?

Many new people coming to live in a small area all in search for work or a better life must have its impact on many urban processes. When struggling to survive in the poor conditions new people in a city live in, criminality is lurking. Moreover a great number of new people in a certain who do not know each other, creates a low level of togetherness or feeling connected. These things might be consequences of an increased urbanisation, but what these factors cause in turn is to be investigated. Therefore this research will focus on how inhabitants in big cities interpret their safety.

With the given process of urbanisation, what will be the influences of it and how do these possible influences create the perception of safety among inhabitants already living in the big city? A broad variety of processes and concepts caused by urbanisation will be discussed and the link between

those processes and concepts and the safety feeling will be made. By conducting this research in Semarang, Indonesia, there is tried to gain new information on consequences of urbanisation in a relatively large city in the Global South.

1.1 Scientific relevance

In 2013 Parnell & Robinson came up with a research in which they questioned the universality of the urban theory as it, to their opinion, focusses too much on cities in the global North. It is too much shaped upon neoliberal ideas that reign in the Western world and therefore the interpretive framework for understanding urban dynamics is only applicable for a certain set of cities. The ambition of this thesis is to create global geographical reach and providing an excellent focus for thinking beyond the well-known urban theories about the global North. The dominant theorisations used in the urban theory or in neoliberalism consist of too many assumptions, trajectories and certain policy circuits, that just do not apply to all kind of cities, especially to those cities in the Global South (Parnell & Robinson, 2013). Not all cities in the world are located in countries that are fond of neoliberalism, let alone being fond of free markets or making democratically chosen policy implementations. So reflecting on the variety of processes other than neoliberalism that are shaping cities and focus on poorer cities as well, will give new views and possible understanding for certain urban patterns.

Only few of all the anti-poverty campaigns of Southern cities have been discussed in academic journals. Hence this lack of in-depth research of particular cases (so far) reduces the chances of making comparisons between different urban poverty strategies.

Southern (re)framing can contribute to a post-neoliberal theorization of urban processes by illuminating the multiple drivers of urban change, from the developmental or activist state to the role of traditional elites and the persistence of extra-capitalist power bases as well as the political and accumulation strategies of capital, states, and other institutions. (Parnell & Robinson, 2013, p. 5).

It is here where the gap lies this thesis will dive in. This study aims to provide in-depth insights in the relationship between urban growth and safety feeling. By conducting research about urbanisation in Semarang, Indonesia, a city in the Global South, there will be tried to find new insights in how urban structures occur beyond the Western world. Although there will be made use of the urban theory as main theory to find answers to the research questions, there also will be sought for additions to the urban theory as it is not fully excludable. This all because of the changing world and therefore the changing cities, especially those in the Global South, that are growing on rapid scale.

Maybe eventually global urbanisation will be theorised all around the globe as one the most significant changes of Twenty-first-century life. Till now anyway there is not a surplus of critical reflections or studies that one might expect considering the major urban transformations ongoing in the Global South (Parnell & Robinson, 2013).

Next to urbanisation, the other main concept used in this thesis is safety feeling. It is this concept where just as with urbanisation taking place in cities in a certain part of the world, there is a lack of writings and critical reflections about. But where many research about the possible correlation between safety perception and actual crime has already been done, there is a space left blank as regards to research on social factors that may cause such feeling of unsafety (Zani, 2001). So in combination with urbanisation this thesis will focus on social factors behind the feeling of (un)safety among inhabitants.

1.2 Social relevance

In many developing countries cities are growing on a rate so fast, it causes a vast quantity of uncontrolled housing, which consists of slums as well as squatters (Sinclair, 1978). Although urbanisation is a worldwide phenomenon, a significant proportion of urban population growth has been, and will be, concentrated in developing countries where urbanisation is described as unplanned and unsustainable (Misilu et al., 2010; UNDESA/PD, 2012). And as this kind of informal housing is not a bad thing as such, it does cause a lot of qualitative low-standard houses. People are struggling to earn a decent income and live in these poor houses, it is here where most of the criminality emerges. And so this is where the footing of the problem lies.

Studies have shown that where poverty once was mainly the problem of rural areas, it is now one of the urban landscape. The people in rural areas experiencing all kinds of poverty caused a huge migration of people from rural to urban areas, in hope for a job or at least some kind of better life. But it is this ongoing migration that puts more and more pressure on the already overly used goods of a city and resulting in the development of many informal settlements with lack of basic services such as water and electricity (Garland, Massoumi, Ruble (Eds.), 2007). Moreover people living in these circumstances with poor and insufficient housing can lead to an increased level of vulnerability to natural disasters.

The process of land subsidence is one of the main factors to why people are experience a higher level of vulnerability to natural disasters. With the land sinking beneath their feet, people's houses are also sinking to a lower level, causing many buildings to crack or even completely flood. The quality of the living environment is decreasing because all kinds of infrastructure including infrastructure meant for health and sanitation are sinking, collapsing or getting under water. Moreover this causes tremendous financial losses because of many buildings in industrial zones are affected by the land subsidence (Marfai & King, 2007).

1.3 Research goal

As came clear in the earlier chapter about the relevance of this thesis, there is a gap in knowledge as regards to the combination of urban growth and the perception of safety. In this thesis there is tried to jump into this gap and create new knowledge on the combination of those two widespread concepts. Combine this mix of two important concepts with the fact that this research is conducted in a relatively large city in the Global South and it becomes clear what the overall aim of this research is. Namely this study aims to provide in-depth insights in the relationship between urban growth and safety feeling. To obtain the set goal this research provides all sorts of opinions of the inhabitants and through observations in the region, there will be sophisticated support for the possible influence of this urbanism on the safety feeling. The main focus lies on the combination of a widespread literature study beforehand and observations and interviews, with questions based on this literature study, in the research area in the city of Semarang, Indonesia. This triangulation of data collection methods is the foundation of this research and this triangulation is also a well organised and structured method to provide sufficient and necessary information in order to answer the research questions.

1.4 Research location

This research will be conducted in one of the world's largest countries in terms of citizens, Indonesia. With more than 260 million inhabitants spread over almost 15.000 different islands this is country is unique in a variety of ways. Indonesia is located in the Southeast of Asia (see figure 1), neighbouring Papua new guinea in the east and Malaysia in the north. The biggest and most important islands of Indonesia are Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. Java is the world most populous island with a staggering 145 million inhabitants, which is about 56.7% of the whole Indonesian population. Several other big cities on Java next to the capital Jakarta are: Bandung, Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Semarang.



Figure 1: Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Java. Retrieved from <http://www.geographicguide.com/asia/maps/southeast.htm>

Java consists of four different provinces: Bantam, West-Java, Central-Java and East-Java. Semarang is located in and capital of the province Central-Java. It is the seventh most populous city of Indonesia with approximately 1.8 million inhabitants. Therefore Semarang is the perfect 'relatively big city in the Global South.

Semarang consists of many different districts, sub-districts and neighbourhoods. Observations will be held in the city of Semarang, with the main focus on one district and one sub-district, respectively: Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok. The reason for these two districts arises from recommendations that are made by experts I interviewed in Semarang. These two districts are on average somewhat the same as regards to poverty and crime, but both have a complete different history and both are still evolving differently. Also Bandarharjo is experiencing an great flow of new people coming in, something which Tambak Lorok already experienced a few decades ago. Tambak Lorok is a coastal area, but it does not include the main harbour of Semarang, though there are many other small harbours and places to moor for ships.

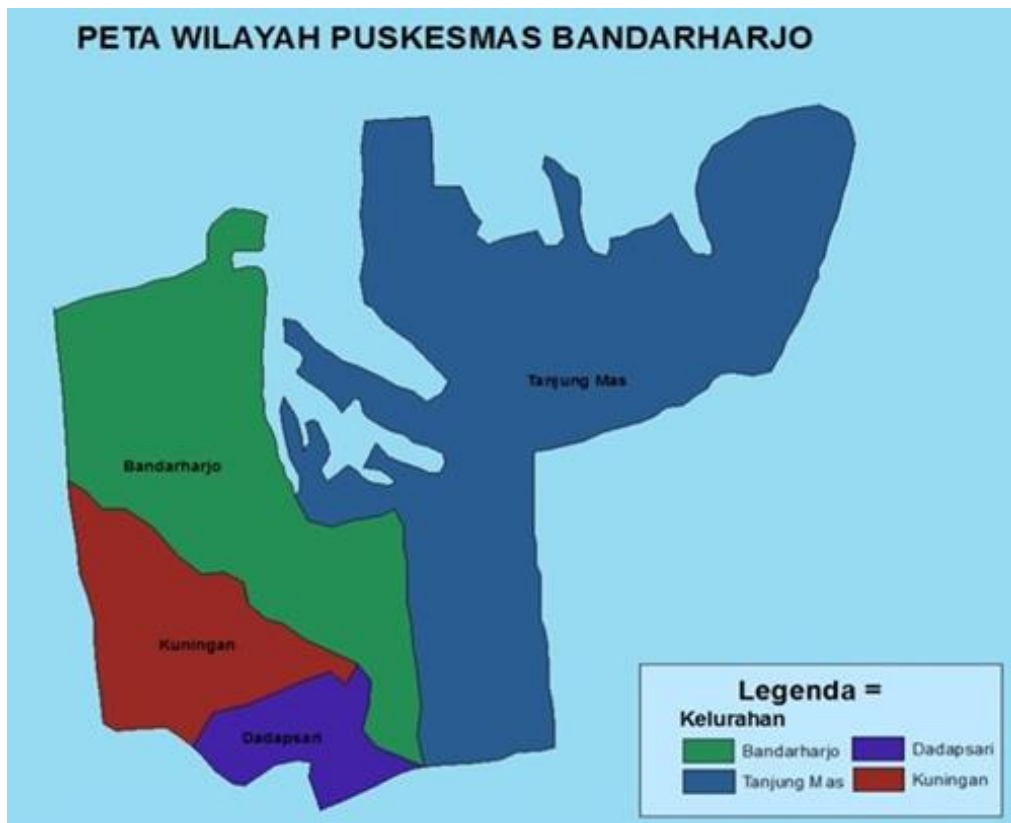


Figure 2: North-Semarang district division. Retrieved from <http://dinkes.semarangkota.go.id/index.php/bandarharjo/page/555>

In figure 2 the overall division of North-Semarang is visible. The blue district on the right is Tanjung Mas, Tambak Lorok is part of this big coastal district. The green district on the left is Bandarharjo. As Bandarharjo is not fully visible in figure 3, this map (figure 2) was added to make clear which part of Semarang is being meant to better understand not only where to find a specific region, but to also show the most obvious physical difference between the compared districts.

Figure 3 is a map I received from the head of district in Tambak Lorok and it shows the whole of the district Tanjung Mas. It suits great for explaining where to find sub-district Tambak Lorok with all the specific RW-areas shown, it though is not ideal for showing Bandarharjo as Bandarharjo is a whole district and therefore much bigger, which does not fully fit on this map. The sub-district Tambak Lorok consists of several RW's, namely the RW 12 until RW 16 (the red marked part in figure 2). Bandarharjo is actually the whole grey region left on Tanjung Mas, which is marked blue. RW is Indonesian for Rukun Warga and means citizen association. RT is Indonesian for Rukun Tetangga and means neighbourhood association. Usually one RW consists of several RT's as RT's is an association on a smaller level.

PETA WILAYAH KELURAHAN TANJUNG MAS



Figure 3: Map of district Tanjung Mas with RW division

2 Theoretical framework

This chapter forms the theoretical framework this research is based on, which is set up in pursuance of the research question. The start of the chapter will consist of a discussion on how the feeling of safety comes about. One of the factors that influence safety feeling among inhabitants of a city is the fact that more people are entering the city and all try to obtain their own place. This description of people entering a city and obtaining their place in it, is often called urbanisation. So finally there will be description of the influence of urbanisation on safety feeling.

2.1 Safety feeling

Following Moser's conceptualization (Moser, 1992), in this thesis the feeling of unsafety is seen as including cognitive, emotional and behavioural aspects: perceived seriousness of social and criminal problems in the living environment, worry about the possibility of being personally involved in negative situations, and behavioural reactions. The feeling of safety can be conceived as an individual emotional response to actual crime. People feel unsafe whether or not crime rates are really high in their neighbourhood. It is all about how people conceive and percept it.

Oppelaar & Wittebrood (2006) frame the concept safety perception as follows: The perception of safety is being used for a variety of emotions, views and opinions, for example the fear of becoming a victim, the estimated chance of becoming a victim and the concern about the develop of crime in general and around the person itself. But there is a difference between the cognitive and affective fears. The fear of becoming a victim of some kind of crime is affective, the chance people estimate of becoming a victim of crime themselves though is cognitive. People can estimate the chance of becoming victim to a certain type of crime very high (for example theft of a bike), though not being really afraid. And vice versa, for example people estimate the change of becoming a victim of rape low, but they are still quite afraid of it. This all leads to saying safety feeling is very subjective as it has much to do with own experiences of people, experiences of others around them or the coverage of it by the media. Hence in this research there will not be made use quantitative data about crime, but the focus will merely be on the whole subjective experience and interpretation of people.

Often it is said the feeling of unsafety is higher in larger cities compared to smaller towns, among individuals that are less integrated into their community and among women (Zani, 2001). So suggesting that urbanisation is ongoing in relatively big cities in the Global South, people should feel less safe in those cities. Next to that many of those new people in the city are not - or not immediately - well integrated in the city, causing even more feelings of unsafety among both the new people and the people already living there.

The concept of safety feeling is divided in three different layers of context by Oppelaar & Wittebrood (2006):

- 1. The individual context:** The individual context refers to the personal characteristics of individuals. The four main groups inside this context are: personality, vulnerability, lifestyle and victim experience. These four factors are mainly factors of fear an individual experiences and therefore they are not easily manipulated or changed by some kind of development on the scale of a whole city or district.
- 2. The situational context:** The situational context refers to the direct living environment. There are six main groups to be divided inside this context: the design of the public space, social composition, social cohesion, nuisance, deterioration and criminality. These factors are on a more specific neighbourhood level and therefore these factors are more easy to influence.

- 3. The social-cultural context:** The social-cultural context refers to the developments on a societal level and the consequences of it on the perception of safety. The factors of this context are more widespread international developments and therefore these are somewhat impossible to change. Several possible examples of factors in this context are concepts such as: individualisation, development in media, internationalisation or globalisation.

Next to the social side of safety there is also the physical side of the safety story. Feeling unsafe as described above is about how individual interpret their safety, which makes is complete subjective. But people can also feel unsafe because there is a realistic chance their house gets flooded or the land on which their house is built is sinking.

Land subsidence is the process of land or ground in a certain place sinks to a lower level. It is often caused by natural consolidation and there are several humanly involved factors that have led to an huge increase in this process in mega-cities all over the world. Land subsidence has always been a problem in several big cities, but it has intensified in the last decades due to growing population and phenomena such as urbanisation and globalisation (Marfai & King, 2007). These phenomena are the cause of more people getting to live in a city and leaving their footprint. With this footprint is meant that all those new people need a place to live and work and so there are many new constructions built to fulfil these needs. All these new constructions and also industries cause intensified land subsidence due to excessive groundwater extraction and pressure of buildings on already soft and sinking ground (Marfai & King, 2007). With this continuing land subsidence, risks like flooding are getting an everyday problem for inhabitants of those cities.

2.2 Urban theory

Urban theory is a theory that consists of an agglomeration of different social theories, such as classical, neo-classical and modern. Social theories are full of political, economic and social driven actors interacting with each other. Studies have shown that certain cultural values promote economic development and the economy in turn, changes cultural values. Urban historians were one of the first to acknowledge the uttermost importance of technology in combination with the city. From here arises the focus on how the network character of a city is continued by information technology. In context of globalisation, urban theory pleads to a continued morphing of the city to contribute to the global economic structure and thereby focussing on urban flows rather than environmental and social concerns (Allen, 2014).

But as cities are so big, so complicated and so lacking in easily identifiable boundaries, one theory trying to define all essentials characteristics in it, could never be fully excludable. Therefore many and many people living in different times criticised, added new arguments to and thus changed the urban theory.

At first the work of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology set the tone as leading voice in the urban theory. "They dealt with the city primarily as a congeries of socially differentiated neighbourhoods caught up in a dynamic of ecological advance and succession together with associated mentalities and behaviours" (Allen, 2014, p. 2). The critique on this was that urban sociology was actually not urban and mostly about society at large. Later, other important figures such as Lefebvre and Harvey, saw the city as a reflection of class struggle, assembled by land markets which were only used to generate wealth among the already wealthy and by connected political claims about citizenship rights to urban space and resources. Around the 1980s new arguments on cities and urbanisation came along and caused more awareness about gender dimensions of cities, while other analysts revitalised longstanding interest in ethnicity, race and class in urban structures. So in the course of time more and more theories and arguments on social and urban life were added to the urban theory, which mostly happened in the twentieth century.

Until in 2013 Robinson came up with a research in which she questions the universality of the urban theory as it, to her opinion, focusses too much on cities in the global North. It is too much shaped upon neoliberal ideas that reign in the Western world and therefore the interpretive framework for understanding urban dynamics is only applicable for a certain set of cities. In cities in the Global South things as traditional authority, religion and informality are just as central to legitimate urban narratives as the vacillations in modern urban capitalist public policy.

Many cities in the Global South have approved poverty strategies, either as stand-alone strategies or under rubric of wider city development strategies using either livelihood approaches or multidimensional-definition thinking as the basis for renewed state action and reconfigured state civil society partnerships. Only to find out this kind of approach turned out to not fully work as many policymakers thought it would.

Tough in Twentieth century Southern cities there were almost no (written) rights for all citizens, nowadays political dynamics centre around planning cities in such a way ensuring basic services for those who are unconnected or even cannot pay for their own long-term service charges (Parnell & Robinson, 2013). So when trying to overcome big problems such as the general poverty in a city, there is a difficult dilemma to tackle to either have a strong state or a strong civil society.

2.3 Urbanisation

Today tough we live in a world where globalisation could be called the number one overall global trend, interactions and trade on the urban scale are intensifying more than ever. Already in the eighteenth century there is prove of a tendency for local transactions to expand alongside with the growth of long-distance trade. Local face-to-face interaction seems to complement long-distance business activities (Allen, 2014, p. 7). Hence as it often seems, globalisation does not undermine the city, it actually intensifies most urban processes.

Cities do provide some of the most essential bases for economic systems to function, but cities also cause many conditions that have a negative impact on the quality of economic, political or social life inside a city. For instance many poor people live in the city, though poverty is not inherent to cities and poverty in itself is also not directly caused by urbanisation (Slater, 2013).

In comparison to rural areas with limited employment opportunities in most developing countries (Antinmo et al., 2009), most urban areas do provide opportunities for all kinds of jobs, for all kinds of people. Of course not all people in the city benefit from those opportunities, while not every person has the same skills or sometimes the same luck. Low-quality working conditions and spatial location of informal settlements in urban regions cause unemployment in those urban regions (Baker, 2008). So urbanisation definitely does not directly cause poverty, but when circumstances in urban areas are sufficient, most people still struggle to find a job. And as most big cities in developing countries do not provide those sufficient circumstances for opportunities and job creation, people tend to live in poverty, as they are not able to make enough money.

Urbanisation as Allen (2013, p. 10) describes it, is: "The essence of the urbanization process resides in the twofold status of cities as clusters of productive activity and human life that then unfold into dense, internally variegated webs of interacting land uses, locations and allied institutional/political arrangements." But there has not to be forgotten about the individuality of particular cities and how every city has its own and unique qualities as well as disadvantages. Some variables Allen (2013, p. 10-11) named as especially important in differentiating cities without negating the general nature of urbanisation, are: varying levels of economy through time and space, rules about the governing of resource allocations, prevailing structures of social stratification, cultural norms and traditions and conditions of political authority and power. It is in these five factors where the main difference lies

between cities in general, but moreover between cities in the global North and the Global South. So it is this what we have to take into account when trying to analyse cities in the Global South with theories and assumptions based on cities in the global North.

Urbanisation is often described as a multidimensional phenomenon that affects all facets of community development. In the context of developing countries, urbanisation has been interpreted as the process of transformation of a settlement from rural to urban, involving changes in the physical, demographic, economic, and social characteristics of the former (Nsiah-Gyabaah, 2004).

2.4 Urbanisation and safety feeling

So more people entering a city at first causes a lot of people to do not be able to find a house or a (sufficient) job in the new city. Because so many people are in need of a house and a job, frequently there arises a shortage. So often the new inhabitants struggling with finding a house and a job, tend to live in poverty. Poverty then is one of the main factors behind the next important concept, crime. The reason for this is mostly people without a job that are struggling to find money in any possible way, then get into crime much.

But as far as poverty leading to crime, poverty is a broad concept involving many causes as well as many effects. One of the other effects from poverty is people living in insufficient circumstances which make them vulnerable for natural disasters. At last the connection between crime and an increased feeling of unsafety is in general quite obvious and therefore easy to explain. Often actual crime is good indication for how safe people feel, because people experience crime and then the next time they feel a bit more unsafe. But feeling unsafe has a broad variety of reasons for every different person and it does not directly have something to do with crime. As it says it is a feeling one can have, so what this feeling causes differs from human to human.

Then there is a division from a concept that is two folded. More people in a city namely causes more constructions too, for more people are in a city they all want a house and spend their money on all kinds of goods. This is actually an enormous economic boost to the city and more constructions need to be built to meet all the needs of the growing population. But more constructions in turn leads to more land subsidence. This land subsidence as is explained earlier in this thesis, leads to people being more vulnerable to natural disasters because of their sinking houses.

At last there is the concept of connectedness on the far left of the conceptual model. Connectedness is the way people in a certain area behave together and to which extent they are connected to each other. Living in a neighbourhood where people look after each other and also where people are willing to collaborate to solve common problems is an important part of connectedness (Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill & Gallay, 2007). As urbanisation implies a great flow of incoming new people in a city, it has its impact on inhabitants of that city. People who already live in a certain area have some kind of connection and often know each other quite well. Putting a lot of new people in that area, can create a decrease in connectedness of the whole area as more people do not know one another. This decrease in connectedness is the reason for people to feel less safe in their own neighbourhood. Because when people do not know their neighbours or do not trust them, they tend to feel less safe as they cannot estimate possible behaviour of them. Also a high level of connectedness creates a situation in which everyone trust each other that much, they do not fear anything from them. Moreover a high level of connectedness does not only make inhabitants fear less from neighbours, but it also creates a situation with a higher social control. This is the concept of other people watching the neighbourhood and address people when they see something suspicious. People tend to change their behaviour to the norm of the society or environment they live in and thus when most people know each other and the general norm of their neighbourhood, they tend to adjust their behaviour.

In fact looking at the urban context, evidence shows that in large cities quality of life is poorer compared to small towns and also fear of crime is higher (Clemente and Kleiman, 1977). Moreover there is a general decrease in interpersonal and social exchanges (Bonaiuto and Bonnes, 1996). This decrease in contact between different people can cause an increase in unsafety feeling, due to the disappearing of the so called social security. When people do not connect much with their neighbours or others surrounding them, they get easily isolated and people do not watch out for each other. This is exactly what is happening in cities which experience a great urban growth.

It is the combination of on the one hand, poverty caused crime and on the other hand poverty and land subsidence caused social vulnerability that leads to more people feeling unsafe in the city.

2.5 Research questions

To which extent does urbanisation influences the safety feeling of inhabitants of Semarang?

In order to answer this question - and this way achieving the research goal - three sub-questions are to be asked.

How do inhabitants of Semarang interpret their safety feeling?

Is there a visible change in safety feeling?

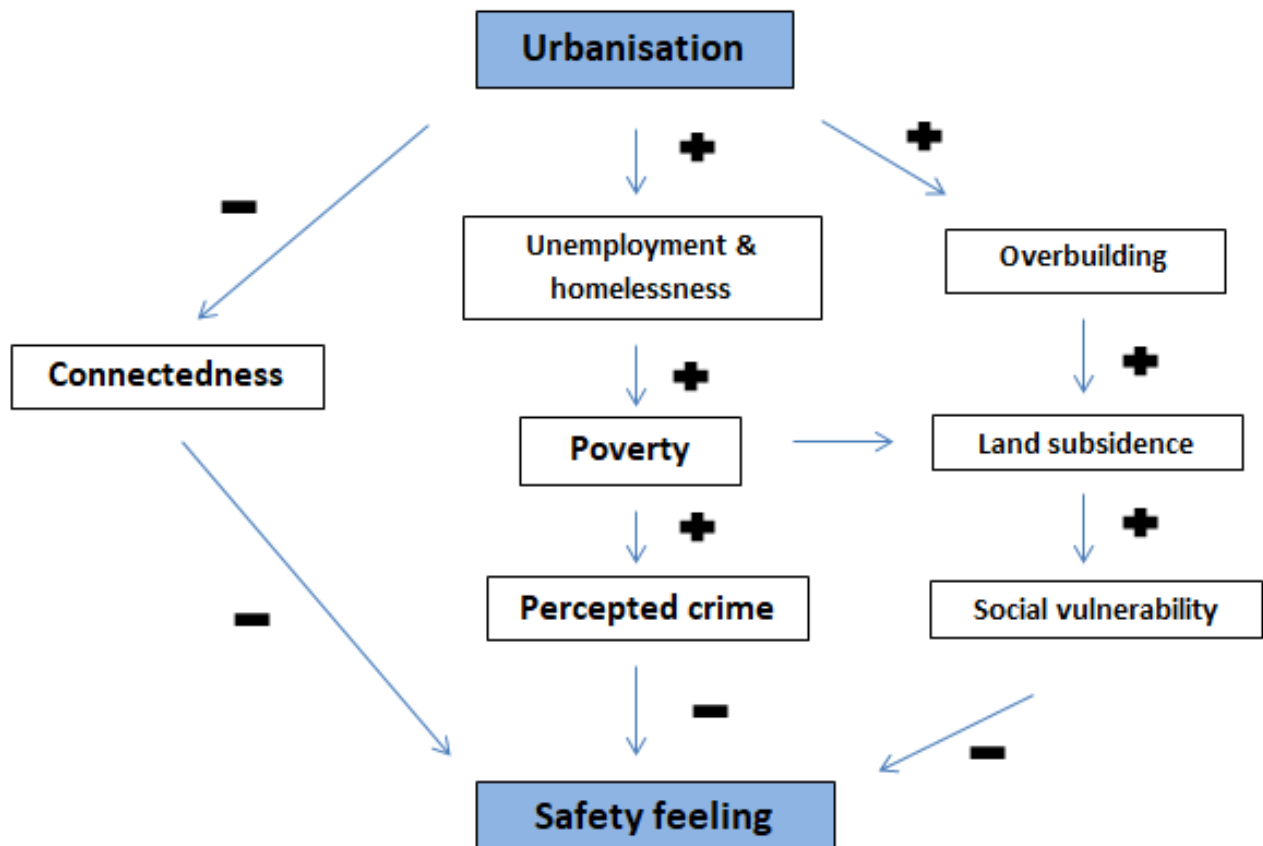
Is there much urban growth in Semarang? And how is it growing?

The reason for the choice of a 'to which extent' research question is due to fact that this research wants to investigate how urbanisation influences safety feeling. But for as my hypothesis is suggesting urbanisation does influences safety feeling, this has yet to be proved. The 'to which extent' question can suggest that there will searched for a quantitative way of answering this question, resulting in a number or some kind of ranking, though this is clearly not the case. There will be a qualitative answer in terms of an overall conclusion based on the research results.

Each of the three sub-questions are asked to separate a part of the main question and by answering these three, I am able to answer the main question of this research. The first sub-question is necessary to at first get to know how inhabitants of Semarang thought about their safety, if there even are feelings of unsafety. Then I want to know if their safety feeling had changed in the past couple of years. After all the hypothesis of this research is that urbanisation influences safety feeling and as urbanisation has been increasing in most big cities in the Global South in the past couple of years, safety feeling should have changed too. The last sub-question asks if there is urban growth in Semarang at all. Though it is presumed there is, because of the overall global trend, this question was needed to be asked because no city is ever the same.

So by answering these three questions I know if and how urban growth in Semarang is changing and above all how inhabitants of Semarang think about their safety and how that interpretation might has changed. Hence I could rap these answers together in order to find a suitable answer for my main question.

2.6 Conceptual model



The conceptual model of this research is shown above. It is based upon two major concepts, namely urbanisation and the feeling of safety. As to the outcomes of the literature study in combination with the scientific relevance, these two main concepts not only came out as important and interesting, but combined they also turned out as a gap in knowledge. Particularly the combination of urbanisation and feeling of safety in (relatively) big cities in the Global South, because of the lack of knowledge about cities in this part of the world.

The hypothesis this conceptual model suggests is one which builds upon one - seemingly obvious - way of thinking, but it spreads in two important different parts. First of all urbanisation as defined in the theoretical chapter is: the process of transformation of a settlement from rural to urban (Nsiah-Gyabaah, 2004). Cities grow because more and more people move to a city for an infinity of various reasons, coming from mostly rural or at least less urban regions. So there is an increase in people entering the city and because of the big amount of people, not all of them are able to find a job, which can lead to poverty. Also the right part of the conceptual model is important as it shows the impact of more people, which means more constructions and therefore more land subsidence. The left part is the connectedness of a neighbourhood which is expected to decrease due to the many newcomers, consequently less connectedness will lead to a decrease in safety feeling. It all ends in an increased vulnerability to natural disasters in combination with poverty based crime, which causes the final feeling of safety.

3 Methodology

In the following chapter, the methodological approach of this thesis is explained. This clarifies the choices made dealing with the way this research is conducted.

3.1 Research strategy

The research strategy used for this thesis is the so-called 'single case study'. It is based on both theory and empirical findings from one particular place in Indonesia. Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007, p. 183) describe a case study as: "... a research with which the researcher makes an attempt to gain an in-depth and integral insight into one or more time-spatial demarcated objects or processes." The choice for a case study also automatically implies a holistic approach. The holistic approach fits well in the goal and method of this study as it focusses on the research as a whole and not on all little individual parts. A case study as type of research implicates the study of a case within a real-life, contemporary context. So this research is about an everyday concept in a somewhat bounded system over the course of time, whereas the researchers uses detailed and in depth data collection which include multiple sources of information (Creswell, 2012).

The choice for a qualitative research is based on several different, rather logic reasons. First of all the data collection for this thesis was held in Semarang, Indonesia, a place where inhabitants barely speak English. So conducting research on a quantitative scale whereby the research population needs to fill in surveys, would have been difficult. By using a qualitative way of research, you can speak with your research population with the aid of a translator. Because of this it is possible to speak inhabitants who do not speak English and due to that there does not have to be decrease in empirical data collection. In this way there is no constraint in finding respondents or selecting people with knowledge because of a language barrier. Secondly the subject of this thesis almost required a qualitative research as the main concept of safety feeling is of a complex order. The subjective part of the concept safety, the perceived chance a person estimates to become a victim of crime, is very often numerical investigated. Most literature focusses only on the crime rates or there is made use of a quantitative way of researching, which is criticised by Van Eijk (2013), because those types of researching lack to comprise the complexity of the concept of safety feeling. So to provide room for the complexity of this concept, there is made use of qualitative research, including qualitative methods for data collection.

In order to find answers to the sub questions and therefore in the end answering the main research question, there have be made several choices in terms of feasibility. As said earlier there will be made a comparison between the districts Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok in Semarang. For this research the choice has been made to put the timeframe from about twenty years ago until now. Although the whole process of industrialisation and therefore also urbanisation already started from the time of the Dutch colonialism era until present, there is chosen for this timeframe. The reason for this is twofold of on the one hand the fact that I visited Semarang in 2019 and I cannot look back 100 years in a city. On the other hand how deeper in the past, how less relevant sources I used as literature study are and most of all how less relevant the situation then is for the problems now. Moreover the choice for this timeframe is also determined by both figures available in literature and recommendations in interviews I held in Semarang. Also the limitations in terms of time and size of this thesis played a key role. To keep a reasonable size of research in which I was able to make a proper analysis of the results and because of the limited time I could stay in Semarang, this is the chosen timeframe.

3.2 Research material

In this thesis various research methods have been applied. With the different methods, different information can be obtained, to gain a broad range of information and a complete overview of the research situation. The material being used in this thesis consists of several different forms of data-collection conventional in qualitative research. This chapter describes each method separately.

Literature study

While preparing this thesis literature on urbanisation, feeling of safety and all kinds of urban motives and movements was studied. To develop a research there needs to be read a lot about any possible subject or research idea one might want to adopt. Also many comparable earlier researches and theses have been read thoroughly in search for improvements, ideas, concepts, strategies and better implementations. In order to find answers to the research questions there first will be tried to find answers to this in existing literature. Only when a gap with enough interest, possibilities and relevance is found, there will be tried to find answers in audio-visual data sources .

Observations

Observations of the physical environment are also part of this research as it will give insight in what the city and parts of the city looks like. By standing on a street corner and watching the whole circus of persons and movements a city has to offer, I was looking for certain patterns and signs with importance in need for my research questions. Through observations an image is made on the quality of living and on what kind of functions a city has. Because most concepts used in the conceptual model of this research are not clear visible objects, there has not been made use of an observation scheme. Certain indicators for poverty such as dirty or broken up roads and small or damaged houses, I did pay attention to. Also indicators for safety feeling and especially trust where things I tried to look for. I observed the city when I walked around in the two districts Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok, while in between occasionally talking with inhabitants.

Semi-structured interviews

When interviews are fully structured and thus fully prepared and fixed, there is few space left for improvisations or extraordinary results. Also not being prepared at all can cause trouble, as one might not know enough questions during an interview. Moreover one might forget which information he wants to know or one does not know how to shape a good question during the interview.

Hence in this thesis is chosen for semi-structured interviews as they provide just the right level of structuration necessary to get to know enough, as well as not being to fixed beforehand. First questions are asked about the first and second sub-question of this research, which are about how inhabitants encounter criminality and if they are involved in it. Also questions are asked about if and how there is a change visible in this safety feeling. Next to this, questions are asked about the third sub-question: do inhabitants see many migrants, do they see the city growing and how do these new people influence their safety feeling.

This research performed interviews with seven important stakeholders in either the whole urbanisation side of the story, the safety feeling side or the combination of both. Because most stakeholders were not familiar with the English language I relied on one student from *Unika University* (Mitziko) in Semarang for executing and translating the interviews. Next to that Mitziko knew what my research was about, as we discussed much about it. Therefore she not only translated my questions, but also did she sometimes added questions herself or immediately asked further. The interview guide used for the interviews can be found in appendix A. Because not all the interviewed stakeholders possessed the same share of knowledge, this interview guide was the overall used base

for questions, including several let outs or additions. Most of the interviews were held in Javanese by Mitziko, who directly translated it back to me in English during the interviews.

The analysis of the data consisted of open coding of the interviews. For coding I made use of ATLAS.ti.8 which provided the right tools for coding and therefore analysing the interviews. At first I read through several interviews for a bit, until I discovered several recurring themes. From these recurring themes I made code groups which all got between two and six codes, which in a few unique cases had overlap. The main code groups used were: urban growth, safety feeling, employment, vulnerability, poverty and improvement.

Informal conversations

Next to the semi-structured interviews, I also held a lot of informal conversations with inhabitants of Semarang. By talking to these people without a really structured interview and list of questions, there was a chance of getting more information out of them. Moreover talking to people in an informal way leads to people talking much more open and unbiased. By not recording the small conversations people tend to tell more because they do not have any kind of fear of saying something that would harm anyone or something that would be ethically wrong. The semi-structured interviews were held with inhabitants of the city of Semarang living in the so-called low-standard houses, whom encounter the problems of feeling unsafe the most. According to Bartlett (1998) do children who spend their lives in inadequate housing for their needs have a distinct backlog in the struggle to escape from social disadvantages and the cycle of poverty. It is this cycle they get stuck in and hardly come out that causes the living environment in which the overall problem of unsafety is rooted. By being stuck in that almost vicious circle they hold on to their low-quality life which is one of the factors for causing an increased feeling of unsafety in the neighbourhoods they live in.

These informal conversations I had with inhabitants were in the districts Tambak Lorok and Bandarharjo, Semarang. Flanked by Mitziko who translated everything, I spoke to ten people hanging around on the streets in each district. The informal conversations on the streets gave me a clear image and background of how ordinary inhabitants thought about their own district. By asking them how they felt concerning safety and what they thought about newcomers in their neighbourhood, I gathered much unwritten information, which helped me answering the research questions.

3.3 Reflection on methodology

The reflection part of this chapter is meant for explanation of choices made in the methodology of this thesis. To start off with I conducted seven expert-interviews and spoke to about ten inhabitants in each district. There are several reasons for speaking to seven people in the longer, semi-structured interviews. I wanted to speak to both people who knew much about Bandarharjo and people who knew much about Tambak Lorok. Also I wanted to speak to someone who knew much about urbanisation as a general process and about urbanisation in Semarang. Moreover I spoke to people of the government and the municipality, as they give information with a certain type of authority. Limitations in time led to the fact I was not able to interview more people, as I only stayed in Indonesia for four weeks. Also due to the fact I was depended on my student helper and references of interviewees for new people to interview, I could not speak to an infinite amount of people. The choice for speaking to ten people per district for the informal conversations was not decided on forehand. During these talks with inhabitants I quickly found out most people told me somewhat the same and I concluded more of the same answers were not necessary.

4 The city is getting full

As introduction to the empirical part of this research this chapter will discuss the situation of urban growth in the world focussing on urban growth in relatively big cities in the Global South. Then there will be a description on how and why cities grow and later on this is specified on the country of Indonesia and the research location: Semarang. By providing this background I intend to create better understanding for the current situation Semarang is in and how and why certain movements have occurred and are still occurring. At last this chapter will give an extensive description of the possible changes in urbanisation over time and there will be a comparison made between the two districts of main focus.

4.1 Cities grow

As for the year 2018 an incredible percentage of 55% of the total human population on the earth lives in urban areas. Not only is this more than half of the people on this planet, this number is expected to increase up till 68% in the year 2050. Of course is there much difference in urban population between parts of the world. In fact, most of this increase in urban population will be concentrated in just a few quickly developing countries. The expected increase in people living in urban areas has two main motives. On the one hand the overall population in the world is increasing as more and more people are being born. On the other hand is the phenomenon of urbanisation, simply summarised as the migration of people from rural to urban areas. So this combination of an overall growth in the world's population and people massively move from rural to urban areas will cause the vast increase in urban population and therefore causes overcrowded cities.

Although this already sounds as an catastrophe waiting to happen, the problem is even more complicated. As a matter of fact about 90% of this increase in urban population will take place in Asia and Africa. Countries who are expected to contribute the most to this growth are China, India and Nigeria, with together a massive 35% of the projected growth of the world's urban population. The most urbanised countries are almost all to be found in North America and Europe as most countries in these continents are at the last stage of the demographic transition model. But as for many countries in Asia and Africa, due to a variety factors including colonisation, this development has started later and is still going on (UN, 2018).

For the same reasons most countries in Africa and Asia lay behind in terms of the demographic transition model compared to most countries in North America and Europe, they also lay behind regarding research about urbanisation and the carrying capacity of cities or urban areas. As most of this is described in the scientific relevance of this thesis, this is something to keep in mind, because it is the cause of the formation of many structures, motives and movements in cities in the Global South. Few research on how and why cities grow, what the consequences and benefits are of urbanisation and many other urban processes, lead to a less well understanding of it and therefore more difficulty in addressing urban struggles. Though many research on cities in the Western World is conducted, this is not always applicable for cities in the Global South as they differ immensely in size, structure, density, living quality and history.

Cities in the Global South are now growing at a faster rate than cities in the global North did in their expanding years. In the time most cities in the global North experienced enormous grow-rates, they were the only growing cities that were located in developing countries. Cities in the Global South started growing from about after the second World War and they had to grow in a time in which a great part of the world already was developed or at least had started with development. Next to that countries in the global north and with them their cities, grew in times of colonisation and

exploitation of other countries. These are all factors in which the development and growth of cities in the Global South differ from those in the global North. In fact, these factors are the cause of most of the current differences between cities in the global North and South. Also cultural differences are present on a level they should not be forgotten. Though the low level of living in many countries in Asia is not merely a matter of culture or attitude, but it is a necessity. We ordinarily associate big cities with advanced technology and a high quality of living, which is not the case in many big Asian cities. Most Asians live on a low level of consumption, which causes cities to endure more people than maybe actually possible. One famous example of this is the phenomenon of squatting or living in slums. It is the building of shacks or little houses of very low quality by newcomers on ground that does not belong to them. Mostly these shacks contain a lot of waste materials and are very vulnerable to all kinds of diseases and natural disasters. People living in these slums enjoy minimal urban services making it easy for a city to tolerate many of them (Davis, 1975).

Moreover the reason for a much higher density in most Asian urban areas is not the high-rise of housing and slums, it is the high density per room in most Asian houses in big cities. This is on the one hand one of the cultural differences between the Global South and North, but it also indicates the stage of development in which countries find themselves. Less developed countries are said to have much bigger families as they get children to support the family in terms of money and for the parents to be taken care of when they get old. Also this high density per room is possible due to the fact most people do not attach much value to personal possessions, which normally would take much space in their houses.

Although congestion, crowding and poverty are not new and were all too well known in cities in Europe in the past two centuries, the scale on which it nowadays happens in cities in Asia is outstanding. The difference lies in the massiveness of cities, the great increase of people and the incompatible association with technology. The fast growing city population is also the big difference between then and now, as population growth is built upon a twofold of reasons: on the one hand they grow by their own natural increase and on the other hand they are helped by the great rural-urban migration. This rural-urban migration is even higher due to the similarly growing agricultural population and also the increasing density of rural lands (Davis, 1975).

4.2 Consequences of urban growth

When looking at the figures and numbers about the amount of people moving from rural to urban areas, there has got to be a clear explanation for it. And of course there is, because humans do not move without any good reason for sometimes places miles and miles apart. Moreover life in the city as explained before definitely is not all puppies and sunshine, so people tend to have very thought out motives to move. The motives for people to move consists of so called push- and pull-factors. Push-factors which are factors for people moving out of one place can consist of: low standards of housing and infrastructure, unemployment and lack of educational facilities. Pull-factors are motives for people to move to one place and these can include: attractive jobs, better education, economical opportunities and a modern lifestyle (Kötter, 2004). Very often a city can provide those pull-factors and rural areas are characterised by the named push-factors. But the factors which are often seen as pull-factors in a city are just possibilities or opportunities and in many cases the chances are not equal for everyone.

Nevertheless more and more people move from rural to urban areas in search for a better life. But this process of urbanisation is happening on such a fast rate and on such a great scale, causing a lot of different economical, ecological and social problems and risks. The impact urbanisation has on cities causes many challenges for urban policies and governmental structures to keep the city sustainable and liveable for all its inhabitants.

Besides that, urban growth often is ahead of the urban development and the provision of all kinds of public facilities. Because of the intensity of the urbanisation in many big cities, new people arrive quicker in the city than the government can make plans for building sufficient housing for them. Consequences of this are the evolving of slums or squatters. At the point where parts of the city devised by urban planning are getting full, the informal side of a city emerges. From here all the other districts of the agglomeration or city start to grow up outside the law and without pleasure of the urban planning department. Those areas are varying from informal housing to actual illegal housing and are often made by migrants themselves who lack any kind of building rules. Also this own building of informal or illegal houses leads to a more widespread settlement structure in the city.

Moreover public facilities cannot support all the newcomers and therefore there arises a situation of overconsuming of those facilities. Lack of sufficient garbage removal, sewage systems or efficient infrastructure are all too common in megacities that have to deal with a massive incoming flow of migrants. Also most inhabitants do not dispose of sanitation facilities or experience not-working rainwater drainage systems.

4.3 The situation in Semarang

Semarang is the capital of the province of Central-Java, hereby laying on Indonesia's most dense island of all. It experiences a great incoming flow of migrants moving from rural areas surrounding the city. But as Semarang already started growing decades ago, it does not grow as rapidly as one might expect of a relatively big city in the Global South, especially in Southeast Asia. Also the population growth happening in Semarang is more spread across the city than in comparable cities. Not only the city centre, as the usually core or growth centre, but also the inner and the outer zones experience an almost even population growth. The annual rate of population increase in Semarang is lower than some other large cities in Indonesia including, next to Jakarta, also cities as Surabaya and Medan (Handayani, 2013). As this is somehow surprising, this population increase difference is not of such a high order to conclude things upon to. Also these cities differ on all kinds of other factors to simply compare them with these numbers. But Semarang might not being number one in population growth does not mean Semarang is not growing. Moreover this city's density is noticeable on almost every street corner in all of the districts I visited.



Figure 4: Semarang from above

Figure 4 above here illustrates the density of Semarang. On the front all the dwellers and mostly small houses are visible. These are the parts most of the typical Semarang inhabitants live in, although there is also quite a significant part of the inhabitants that live in the parts of the city near the coast. The houses in the coastal areas may be one of the poorest and of very low quality, the houses on this picture are not of high quality either and often build closely next to each other. In the back on the right there is one mega shopping mall with parking garage visible, in the more centre back is one smaller shopping mall. Far left in the back of figure 4 there is a big apartment building. The green areas between the smaller houses are parts where the river flows, these are only small strokes of green, as they try to build houses in every other part of the city. The rows of trees alongside the river is, beside some parks, almost the only green there is in the city centre. The quote below from Mr. Cahyono describes perfectly where newcomers end up in Semarang. They often find a job of relatively low quality as and industrial labourer or as fisherman in the areas near the coast. These areas are often Bandarharjo or Tambak Lorok as these also provide a harbour for the fishermen and also the housing in those districts are cheap and meet the basic needs the newcomers have.

“Because when they come here, they also come to areas, to low income areas.”
– Pak Cahyono (personal communication, April 2, 2019)

Although Semarang might not be one of the major growing cities in terms of population, it is a fact that it is very dense in Semarang. Still many people move from rural areas to the urban areas in Central-Java and then end up mostly in Semarang. Especially in the two districts Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok the density is very high. The borders of both the districts on the city side are major roads and on the coast side it is of course the water. It is for this reason the places are so extremely dense, all new incoming people need to find a place and there is no space as the districts are now stretching from the city side up till the water.

“Density has always been a problem. But we cannot say that as you come from outside ... you cannot come here, we can't say that. (...) When only one person comes, they ask their whole family to come here.” – Itsi Sumiwi (personal communication, April 2, 2019)

The struggle they face in Semarang is that of an increasing amount of people entering the city, but having almost no place for them to live. As this quotation above signifies very striking, people living in Semarang do not want to say there are too many people. This is because they cannot reject newcomers and they also do see the value of new people coming in and contributing to the city's economy. One thing which also is important in the urbanisation process is that often one person, most times a man, makes the move from the rural lands to the city in search for a job and when he has got work, he brings over his whole family. So one man having a job inside the city, taking with him his wife and children and therefore bringing in a whole group of people. This is a commonly happening phenomenon in Semarang and causes an even bigger grow of population in the city.

“There are still coming many people to this area. It is very dense.” – Pak Slamet (personal communication, April 5, 2019)

To put Semarang in a timeframe in terms of development of the population and urban growth, I first describe the growth over a certain period of time and try to compare the two districts of my main focus. As mentioned in the methodology chapter the comparison between Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok is being made over a timeframe of about twenty years ago until present.

Natural population increase in Semarang has been negative from about the year 1997 until now as the birth rate in the city decreased. Figures show that the population of children in the age of 0-4

years old has halved between 1997 and 2007. Next to this is the increase in population in higher ages, the group of 25-39 year olds increased massively for both males and females. As the birth rate is decreasing and only the mid-adulthood ages groups grew a lot, there could be concluded this population growth is caused by migration. For the year 2017 the general population growth in Semarang is about 1,5% each year, which is currently not of a real high order in comparison to other cities in the Global South.

Age Group	Numbers of Male Population		Numbers of Female Population	
	1997	2007	1997	2007
0 – 4	57.966	25.874	57.792	24.847
5 – 9	59.756	59.372	58.894	56.700
10 – 14	60.201	60.551	59.870	58.647
15 – 19	63.309	58.626	63.481	56.615
20 – 24	61.435	61.626	62.444	59.992
25 – 29	56.409	78.093	57.827	77.228
30 – 34	51.999	72.612	52.038	73.843
35 – 39	46.526	70.036	47.518	71.698
40 – 44	39.906	58.912	40.868	61.964
45 – 49	34.589	50.905	36.205	53.136
50 – 54	30.933	41.808	31.988	39.964
55 – 59	26.138	27.684	26.581	26.237
60 -64	21.553	16.151	22.734	18.755
65 ke atas	15.730	39.776	17.239	52.942
Total	626.450	722.026	635.479	732.568

Table 1: Semarang population by age from 1997 until 2007. Retrieved from Central Bureau of Statistic/ BPS Kota Semarang

Bandarharjo was from about 1962 until 1982 quite a bad region, famous for high crime rates and many people living in poverty. At first the district was called Baru Tikung and it was known as the garbage disposal of Semarang.

“Baru Tikung was famous as runaway escape for criminals and mafia and all that kind of stuff” – Pak Slamet (personal communication, April 5, 2019).

In 1978 the area got an expansion and the territory got divided in two different district and due to government intervention from about the year 1982, the district improved. Infrastructure got fixed and the more and more jobs were available, which caused a great increase in population. This is the main reason for the still relatively high rate of population growth in Bandarharjo in comparison to Tambak Lorok. As Pak Slamet (personal communication, April 2, 2019) said:

“Most of the urbanisation started from 1987 until right now, more and more people came.”

Tambak Lorok has a well-known increase of population from early on. The district actually started growing in terms of population several decades before Bandarharjo. This caused the extreme density there is in the district nowadays. But as there were government interventions in Tambak Lorok as well, they were never of the size of impact as they were in Bandarharjo. Though Tambak Lorok kept growing in most decades of the 20th century. Only now the district has a population growth which is actually brought to a hold, so for the district the main growing times are over.

“It was a long time ago when people came.” – Mr. Wartana (personal communication, April 9, 2019)

But as for this chapter it was only partly intended to question the urbanisation in Semarang, it was to describe if and why people move from rural to urban areas and where inside the city they end up and most of all how this differs between Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok over time.

The purpose of this research was to test the effects of urbanisation on several preconceptions and certain patterns that arose from literature. At first there needs to be urbanisation, of course the city must grow to fulfil the preconditions of the research questions. The research questions suppose urbanisation as something given and then focus on how the phenomenon affects the safety feeling of inhabitants. So there is a quest for background information concerning urban growth in order to explain what possible consequences might be.

To conclude, urbanisation is most definitely happening in Semarang and the city experiences a variety of positive and negative consequences of it, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

5 Feeling safe

As introduction to this chapter of the empirical part of this research there is made an overview of the possible causes of safety feeling. As these possible causes proceed from the conceptual model, there will also be a small continuation on how these factors arise from the process of urbanisation. Then a description will be made on if and how these possible causes are present in Semarang. Furthermore a light will be shed on the opinions of inhabitants on their safety feeling as the interpretation of the inhabitants is in fact the safety feeling. After that a comparison between the districts Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok is made again, this time in terms of safety feeling. To conclude this chapter the districts will be compared to each other in a certain timeframe.

5.1 Visible consequences for Semarang

To start with the possible influences on safety feeling, first there needs to be taken another look at the original conceptual model. Several different concepts are shown which all are caused by the concept above them and on their turn are causing one of the concepts underneath them. Starting with urbanisation as cause of all the other concepts in the model. Urbanisation is the process of people moving from mostly rural areas to urban areas with all kinds of different motives for this migration. As described in the previous chapter urbanisation is a phenomenon known all too well in a city as Semarang. But urbanisation is also a process which is already ongoing for a long time now and the intensity is therefore also fluctuating. Besides that there are many differences on where in the city urbanisation has its effects.

One of the causes of urbanisation is unemployment. More people coming to live in the same urban area and they are all looking for a job to earn money and thereby surviving. In the districts of Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok this is also happening, but as most people I spoke said, not on such a scale it is causing many problems. People moving from rural areas to the city of Semarang mostly come to Semarang because they found a job there. This is contrary to what many literature suggests, people coming to a city and then desperately search for work. Though the amount of people not finding a job is relatively low, of course there are always people unable to find a job. But as for many cities in developing countries, also those people will find a job. They often are not very well skilled or do not know much of a specific discipline, but they are most of the times able to find an informal job anywhere in the city. One can argue about the quality of those jobs, but in the end it is some kind of job and they make at least some kind of money. But for as many people do find work, there still are people not able to find a job and without income homelessness is lurking. Sometimes even with a small informal job the income is not even high enough to live from, so people end up living on the streets. Many people told me the reason they keep on surviving is because they adjusted their quality of living to their quality of job and so to their income. Often people are used to it and have a low-quality of life, mostly because they have no other choice. Pak Cahyono researcher and professor at Unika University said this about it (personal communication, April 2, 2019):

“We don’t have what you call... social security, support for the unemployed, so if you’re poor, you have to find a job, whatever kind of job you can get. If you’re well to do rich, if your father is ... you know ... some big businessman you can afford to be jobless, but the other way around.”

So people desperately need jobs for surviving in a big city and for having any kind of future for themselves or their children. They then often seize every opportunity to make money and have anything like a stable income.

“So it depends on the person, on their character. If their intention is to find a good job, good work, they will work for it. But if they already ... if their intention is already bad, they may do a shortcut to crime. But mostly they have jobs in here or they just build Warung (small food stall), they do trade or something.” – Mr. Nanto (personal communication, April 5, 2019)

Moreover in a growing city such as Semarang there is a constant need for new buildings and houses for new people and therefore many of the newcomers find jobs in industrial disciplines or as construction worker. This was something that came forward very clear by the small informal talks I had with inhabitants in both Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok. Many people told if they could not find a job easily there is always room for unskilled hard working men in the construction sector.

This is immediately of interest of another effect of urbanisation, namely overbuilding. As said, as the city is growing in population every new inhabitant needs a place to stay. This causes an enormous increase in constructions, houses and all kind of facilities for that growing amount of people. In other words the city gets full and not just with people, the city gets build full with bricks, concrete and steel. Beside several environmental or personal reasons there could be said this in general is not really a problem for the inhabitants of Semarang. And on its own it also might not be a real problem, but the direct consequences of the overbuilding are of immense impact for the city and its inhabitants. Together with and increasing groundwater extraction (also caused by the increase of new inhabitants) overbuilding or a surplus of constructions leads to land subsidence in Semarang. Due to more inhabitants all using more water, the groundwater level in Semarang is lowering at an alarming rate. Put on top of that the great increase in buildings and structures that cause an enormous pressure on the soil, land in Semarang is increasingly subsiding (Abidin, Andreas, Gumilar, Sidiq & Fukuda, 2013).



Figure 5: A flooded house in Tambak Lorok

It is this land subsidence that causes the many problems and fears inhabitants of the most vulnerable regions experience. In Semarang the areas nearby the sea are already up till several meters lower than the higher parts in the south of Semarang. And not only are they lower than the higher areas, some of the coastal areas are even lower than the sea level. Estimated is that the land subsidence in those regions is about 8cm per year (Abidin et al, 2013). For inhabitants of those areas it means they have to heighten their houses every few years, because otherwise they run the risk of getting their houses flooded. The problem of this is people living in regions vulnerable to land subsidence already have few money and are often not able to fix their houses. Moreover the houses they live in are of very low quality making them even more vulnerable to possible flooding. Once every few years the government heightens the roads in those areas to keep the district passable. Only when the roads are heightened the houses have to be too or else residences of people in that district get flooded. In figure 5 a clear example of this phenomenon is visible. Someone did not want or most likely was not able to heighten or rebuild its house, but the government did raise the roads and so the house gets lower than the road. Then after several years with ongoing land subsidence, the house just starts to fill with water and it gets obviously uninhabitable. This is one of the main problems cities as Semarang have to deal with. And a solution to it, is not easy to find as the government cannot prohibit people to live in those areas, nor is the government able to pay for heightening or rebuilding all the houses and roads.

But as different groups of society may share a similar exposure to natural hazards such as flooding, the consequences may differ for these groups. This has to do with the capacity and ability of different groups to handle the impact of a natural hazard. One, some sort of, advantage of living in these areas vulnerable to land subsidence and thus floods I heard during a conversation with an inhabitant of Tambak Lorok was that living there is cheap. Land prices are low and when having only a small house or shack living costs are very low as well. Moreover most shacks are built upon land that does not belong to the inhabitants of those shacks, making it illegal but therefore also free of charge. So for newcomers with no job or one of low quality, having a cheap place to stay is massively important. Well-aware of the risks of living in these areas, people still need a place in the big city and hence they take those risks for granted.

Consequently this combination of low quality jobs, therefore low income, unemployment and possible homelessness is in fact what causes an overall poverty in the dense regions of Semarang. Poverty as defined by the United Nations is set when people earn less than US\$1,90 per day. But poverty entails more than a low income, it can also include things as hunger, limited access to education, social discrimination and exclusion. As for the year 2018 approximately 11% of the world's population lives below this poverty line (UN, 2019). In Indonesia the percentage of people living on less than US\$1.90 a day is 9.8%, only little less than the world's average (Asian Development Bank, n.d.). Indonesia itself uses a different measurement for poverty, namely a set consumption of US\$25 a month. In 2014 this meant 23.8% of the rural population lived below the national poverty line, compared to the 16.2% of the urban population (Asian Development Bank, 2015). Reasons for the higher poverty rate in rural areas is easily explained by less economic activity and low-productivity jobs available in agriculture in rural areas compared to urban areas. So in general poverty is less in urban areas, but still many people in cities as Semarang live in poor circumstances making them even more vulnerable to land subsidence, natural disasters and also making them social vulnerable. When having few money people often live in poor and inadequate housing, as described before, these inadequate housing making people very vulnerable to land subsidence and possible flooding. Also living in inadequate, often very small, houses makes people extremely vulnerable to all sort of natural disasters because their home is just not able to withstand earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, drought or floods.

In the parts of Indonesia and mainly the parts of Semarang I have seen, poverty is quite present. In a relatively big city as Semarang, poverty is all around you. The visible poverty stretches from seeing

homeless people laying on the pavements to seeing people obviously suffering malnutrition to an almost non-awareness of hygiene. Food often lies uncovered in market stalls with flies all over it, houses are mostly very small and made out of all sort of materials people can find around them. People live extremely close to each other, in tiny houses with their whole families which can consist of over ten people. They work in dangerous industry jobs for many hours in the burning sun or try to sell stuff on the streets to create some kind of income for themselves and their families.



Figure 6: A woman preparing fish in front of her house



Figure 7: A little boy walking around on the messy road

As both pictures here show people live their lives right on the streets. Often they sit in front of their houses, sometimes working, sometimes just laying down and relaxing. The boy in figure 7 walks around on his bare feet on the loose stones and cement of a road which is completely broken. It indicates the poor living environment of the inhabitants of districts as Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok.

But as poverty leads to an increased vulnerability to all sort of nature based problems, it can also lead to an increase in criminality. And in turn criminality is said to be one of the major factors causing an increased feeling of unsafety. But for this research is qualitative the focus will not be on actual crime rates, rather the perceived crime by inhabitants. Thus to which extent inhabitants on the one hand have fear of becoming victim to some sort of criminality and on the other hand how they estimate the chance of really becoming a victim to it. I asked several inhabitants of both districts what they thought about the criminality in their neighbourhood and in combination with the things experts said in the bigger interviews, quite a clear image came up.

Experts told me that general crime rates in Semarang are decreasing and they saw less criminality around them. Mr. Dody is head of government security in West-Semarang and he told me (personal communication, April 9, 2019):

“Because of districts and also the municipality are paying attention to it, the security cameras, the crime is decreasing.”

But although the general tendency is that crime is decreasing, criminality is always happening. There are still reports of rather small crimes such as pickpocketing, theft of bags or theft of motorcycles. Also the type of crime happening in Semarang multiple people mentioned is that of groups of teenagers of different schools or different districts fighting each other. It may not be in all cases real crime, but it is a kind of nuisance which many people experience. As drinking alcohol is not a really accepted phenomenon in a largely Islamic country like Indonesia, inhabitants also often encounter nuisance from drunk people hanging around on the streets.

“So from the drinking people, the drunk people, they get into fights, thefts, robberies and riots a lot.” – Margo Haryadi (personal communication, April 9, 2019)

Also several persons mentioned they saw people doing drugs and therewith causing nuisance to other inhabitants. The utmost mentioned crime though is that of robberies of motorcycles. As the whole of Indonesia drives around on motorcycles, there are incredible many motorcycles in a big city as Semarang is. So it is not surprising theft of these vehicles is the most mentioned type of crime.

One aspect of crime caused by urbanisation is yet to be discussed. It is the indirect consequence of new people coming to (a part of) the city. Most newcomers move because they have a job inside their new city or district. So they are not the jobless people searching for money and then getting involved in crime. But a consequence of those new people getting jobs is the inhabitants who already live in the city, they often cannot get that job. And that sometimes in turn leads to those people getting anxious about surviving, so they are getting into crime to make short term money. It is this indirect consequence of urbanisation that causing a little grow in crime, instead of the new people, the old people commit crimes.

For my own opinion on the presence of criminality I am tend to say that the city of Semarang is quite save. Though I may not be a reliable source to measure the perceived crime as of course I am a foreigner and only stayed a month there, I did not witness any type of crime. Next to that I actually did not feel unsafe at any moment in the city. Although occasionally you get some weird looks and my fellow (female) researchers encountered several little harassments by men when walking around in the evening. Besides these things nothing worth mentioning happened.

At last in the conceptual model there is the concept of connectedness which directly links the two major concepts of this thesis. Urbanisation implies the increase of new people in a certain neighbourhood, creating therefore a decrease in connectedness of that neighbourhood. Connectedness is one of the most visible concepts of the whole conceptual model. Walking around in Semarang there was easily noticeable people trusted each other a lot. People in Semarang often spend many hours of their day in front of their house, or hanging around with neighbours. Most definitely in the poorer districts such as Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok people live very close to each other and therefore their binding with their neighbours is of a very high order.

5.2 “I feel completely safe here”

Having all the consecutively factors of urbanisation explained and having showed if and how those factors are present in Semarang, now it is time for the most important and final possible consequence: safety feeling. As explained in the theoretical chapter the hypothesis of this research is that of urbanisation leading, via several concepts, to an increase in unsafety feelings on inhabitants. An increase in unsafety feelings is of course the same as a decrease in safety feeling and because the

double negative can cause confusion, in this thesis there is spoken of a possible decrease in safety feelings. Now for getting to know how the inhabitants of Semarang really think about their own safety feeling, their opinion needs to be heard. Because there are interviews held with experts on Semarang as a whole, on Bandarharjo, on Tambak Lorok and on urbanisation, employment or crime, there will be first made a description of the perceived safety of the city of Semarang.

As said before the general figures show a decrease of crime in Semarang, this has its impact on the feelings of inhabitants. A lot of inhabitants I spoke, said not to be really afraid of crime in Semarang. They often say that of course there is crime and it can be nasty, but it is not very present and they say in every big city there is crime. They say to not feel like it is worse in Semarang, therefore they do not live in any kind of fear. Something I heard from Pak Cahyono I found very striking was the role social media plays in present day Semarang. There were several car burning around the city which obvious caused some anxiety around inhabitants. But Mr. Cahyono said normally only a handful of neighbours would notice it and it was not a very big issue. But due to social media and more and more people owning a smartphone, news like the burning of cars spreads quickly and then a much larger amount of people gets to know the news. One isolated event can therefore cause quite a great feeling of anxiety around the city.

“But the news that goes around so quickly, that makes people afraid. And sometimes the news is blown up. So social media plays an important role in making people feel safe or unsafe” – Pak Cahyono (personal communication, April 2, 2019)

So although maybe the real crime is decreasing, the way it is interpreted by the inhabitants is what creates the feeling of safety. As explained above, new factors such as social media can lead to more widespread notice of criminal events and therefore can cause much more unsafety feelings though crime rates remain the same or even decrease.

To invigorate the general heard tendency of inhabitants about feeling very safe, the head of government security in West-Semarang, Mr. Dody (personal communication, April 9, 2019) said:

“The majority of Semarang citizens itself they care about the security in Semarang. Like the citizen care about the security in Semarang.”

With this he meant most citizens feel safe in Semarang and they have an increased feeling of responsibility. They start to notice they have quite a big impact on the safety of their city themselves and therefore they care more about the security. Next to police and other forms of government security, inhabitants play a role in the security of their own neighbourhood as they notice crime or unsafe situations themselves first.

Another important cause of a decrease in unsafety feeling can be the feeling of natural safety. As mentioned in the previous chapter land subsidence is one of the biggest problems of Semarang. Furthermore as crime is something happening everywhere and also happening for centuries, people tend to regard it more lightly. Land subsidence though is currently a much bigger problem or at least it is regarded as a much bigger problem by inhabitants. This is maybe also because land subsidence impinges most people much harder and more directly. Imagine having to higher or rebuild your house every few years because otherwise it would flood or otherwise the road in front of your house will be half a meter higher than your house. It is a fear more people have to deal with and in some cases also with even worse consequences, in comparison to the often small crime happening in Semarang. In the informal street interviews I held with inhabitants of Semarang the fear of land subsidence came forward very striking. About the generally safety they said to be not really bothered, only for rising sea levels they were afraid. One woman said she was somewhat afraid for

the land subsidence but said to have not have a choice going anywhere else. Another man did say he felt safe about the land subsidence because the roads will be fixed by the government.

“It is the consequence of living here. We feel unsafe if the tidal waves are high, for raining we are prepared.” – Inhabitant 1 (personal communication, April 9, 2019)

As this quote already enlightens most people are poor and do not have the possibility to move away from the regions vulnerable to land subsidence. Also most of them are used to live in this fear and do not know any better, so they are realistic and accept their situation. But for as many of the inhabitants are used to the fear of land subsidence and therefore flooding, it often does not scare them anymore. On top of that the people I spoke do embrace some kind of proud related to their city or neighbourhood. They tend to paint a rose-tinted picture of the real situation, which is very understandable when having no other option than surviving in the world they live in.

5.3 Safety feeling Bandarharjo

For as a general overview of the situation in Semarang is drawn, in this part the comparison between the two districts Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok is made again, this time in terms of safety feeling. To start off with the safety feeling of inhabitants of Bandarharjo will be discussed.



Figure 8: A typical street in Bandarharjo

Figure 8 is a picture I made during one of the observations in the streets of Bandarharjo. This is the type of street you see everywhere in Bandarharjo and therefore it gives a clear image of how the district looks nowadays. Still most of the street is a mess, often rubble lies on the side of the road,

people are walking around everywhere, laundry hangs to dry and motorcycles are parked in front of every house. Moreover the street is very narrow and the only trees there are, grow on the little spaces left without stones. It is typical for the phase Bandarharjo is currently going through, it is quite a mess and there are many signs of people living in relatively poor circumstances, but the roads, though in Tambak Lorok they are unfinished and small, are in good shape. This is one of the most visible differences I noticed walking in Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok, both districts are well-known poor, but roads in Tambak Lorok are mostly broken up and full of rubbish, in contrary to Bandarharjo where most roads are of decent quality.

Because of the difference in history, the two districts do not only experience a different development in terms of population and urban growth, but consequently they also have differences in safety feeling. As we look at the Bandarharjo of twenty years ago, it has developed a lot in several various aspects. But to understand the development in the past twenty years, there first needs to be given a little history about the district from the years before. At first Bandarharjo went through a big transformation that started after 1982, which included many improvements made by the government in terms of infrastructure, housing and security. The district started to grow and as much as possible from the criminal history was ought to be forgotten. Something which succeeded in many ways giving the district more glance.

“The government actually takes many parts of the improvement in the village. Because the government interferences, so the people in there have changed their mind-set, you know like ... there is lot of improvement. Also people's mind-set have changed, like: I was involved in crime, now I love to be an citizen here. But of course the rough people still remain. Who likes crime is still remains, but not as much as it was before.” – Mr. Dody (personal communication, April 9, 2019)

The improvements made by the government had next to their direct physical impact, also impact on the mind-set of inhabitants. Before the improvements and in the middle of the more criminal times, the tendency in Bandarharjo was as described by Mr. Dody: “In Bandarharjo you don’t have to go to college.” Inhabitants were expected to be labourers in the industry areas, they need to work hard or when things do not go as planned, they get into crime. The only need people had, was surviving and most likely on a streetwise manner. But when the government got involved and improved many things in the district, the mind-set of most inhabitants changed too. Inhabitants now are more educated and have a common knowledge about the law, which caused a change in lifestyle as well. The whole district developed and with that the safety feeling of inhabitants also improved a lot during the years 1982 till 1997.

“Flood has also an effect to crime level. When it floods people cannot work and facilities minimise. They have to suffer more income, so they then commit more crime. The government try to fix everything, like the most important is the drainage system. The floods are now not as bad as before.” – Mr. Dody (personal communication, April 9, 2019)

The quotation above is a clear example of how many different types of factors can affect crime levels and therefore most possible influence the safety feeling of inhabitants. As Mr. Dody says the floods are not as bad as they were before and it causes inhabitants to experience more safety in their own small houses. But the floods getting less worse does not merely decrease the fear of inhabitants of getting their houses flooded, it thus also affect the crime level. Less floods means of course less physical damage and due to that people suffer less in terms of their financial situation. They do not have to rebuild their house, which saves them money. When they did have to rebuild their house, it would have put them in a money crisis, which causes some people to commit crimes to earn money in order to compensate for the rebuilding of their house. Also a realistic fear is taken away causing

inhabitants to have more worryless spare time to work or do things they enjoy. Moreover less floods means one less worry for the inhabitants and it causes them to feel much more safe.

Only as most visible and direct improvements in Bandarharjo stopped around 1997, due to the district being declared not necessary for furthermore improvement, the development stagnated to a certain extent. Furthermore improvements stopped, so the district's development got to a hold too. But as the reason for the stop of improvements was simply because the district was declared as good, developed and prosperous, so the name of the district was already bettered a lot. This caused the district to keep on growing in terms of population and quality of living.

But it is not all glory in Bandarharjo, although the district made through a great development, it remained a district with much criminality and still many of the infrastructure, houses and other buildings remained of low quality. Having struggles with sewage systems, rubbish on the streets and not always safe electricity are some of the problems still to tackle by the government. And besides that the crime rates dropped massively after the improvements of 1982, structured crime such as that of the mafia remained. I noticed the mafia is a common problem in Semarang and as it is a whole organisation of criminals it is hard to get rid of them in a city. Moreover members of mafia are often extreme loyal to one another, which causes the government to see them as some kind of unperishable weed.

“Mafia of Bandarharjo is behaving good in their own area, they commit crimes in other parts of the city.” – Pak Slamet (personal communication, April 5, 2019)

But as for mafia being criminal they mostly do not commit crimes in the district they live in themselves. They go to other parts of the city and rob, hurt or intimidate people there, rather than harass their own neighbours. One could argue if the mafia is such a problem for the region the mafia come from, as they commit almost all crimes outside their own district. But whether or not they operate in the district, having mafia living in Bandarharjo does not make inhabitants feel any more safe. Moreover many people getting scared by the actions of those mafia causing even an increased feeling of unsafety among them.

Besides all influences of real crime on the feeling of safety among inhabitants, there is one more factor not discussed yet, to wit connectedness. It is an important concept for both the urbanisation process and the feeling of safety. As described in the part of this chapter about the visible consequences of urbanisation for Semarang, connectedness is very visible. In Bandarharjo this was the case as well. Often I saw motorcycles standing unlocked in front of houses, most of the times with the helmet on top of the vehicle. Inhabitants were not afraid someone would steal their motorcycle because they know almost all the people living in their neighbourhood. Neighbours do not steal from one another because on the one hand they know and often like each other and on the other hand it is very easy to determine who stole it as you live so near to each other.

“The Bandarharjo management, they made like an organisation. (...) it is the initiative of the Bandarharjo inhabitants. And yeah they patrol every night to prevent the robberies.” – Mr. Nanto (personal communication, April 5, 2019)

This quotation above here is from Mr. Nanto the head of RT in Bandarharjo, he told about how beautiful initiatives arise out of this connectedness in combination with the change in mind-set. Citizens are more conscious of their own impact on the safety and living environment in their own neighbourhood and they are willing to do something about it.

Although mafia remained in Bandarharjo, it has not gotten worse and so in terms of overall crime the district of Bandarharjo has actually improved instead of getting worse. This is due to many

improvements in the district and a consequential changed mind-set of most inhabitants. Thus inhabitants perceive their safety not getting worse if only looked at the crime as cause. Social vulnerability caused by the land subsidence and also indirectly by poverty has neither increased nor decreased. On the one hand caused by more and more inhabitants living in the district, more building takes place and intensified by climate change, floods are happening more often and consequences are worse. On the other hand due to government improvements such as heightening of roads and a better sewage system, floods are actually happening less often and consequences are less worse. Moreover flooding is a phenomenon happening on such a large scale and also floods are so naturalized in the lives of inhabitants of Semarang that they are more than well used to it. So to conclude one could say in terms of how inhabitants interpret it, land subsidence and social vulnerability is not really making inhabitants feel less safe. Over the last twenty years the only actual concept to have an negative impact on the safety feeling of inhabitants of Bandarharjo would be the connectedness. The connectedness of the district of Bandarharjo is getting less by the increase in of newcomers and therefore there could be said inhabitants do feel less safe.

5.4 Safety feeling Tambak Lorok

In order to describe the safety of inhabitants of Tambak Lorok, again there first needs to be taken a look back in the time before the set timeframe of this research. History shapes the city of today, so to understand why and how things in the district of Tambak Lorok are what they are nowadays, there needs to be an overview of how it was before.

The urbanisation happened from early on in Tambak Lorok and actually started directly after the independence of the country of Indonesia. The district has an enormous density and people mostly live in relatively poor circumstances. Due to several government improvements, certain little things changed over time in the district, but Tambak Lorok never experienced a great change such as that of Bandarharjo in the 1980s. So without big changes in the overall history, the district kept growing, but also kept relatively poor and in bad shape, something which is still visible today. But in contrary to Bandarharjo, Tambak Lorok has changed a bit more in the more recent history, thus inside the timeframe of the past twenty years.

When there is taken a look at the connectedness of the inhabitants of Tambak Lorok it becomes very clear the inhabitants know each other for a long time. Most of them feel well connected to one another, because they have lived for many years together in the same neighbourhood. The great incoming flow of new people in Tambak Lorok happened between the 1950s and the 1980s and therefore the inhabitants nowadays know most of their neighbours for decades.

“And they are feeling safe, they are feeling fine because it is their own area. So it is actually that people that come to Tambak Lorok is from 1954 until 1980, so after that people only to rent for temporary living because they work in industry.” – Puji Sarwono (personal communication, April 2, 2019)

And as this quote above already says, there are still new people coming into Tambak Lorok, but the last two till three decades these newcomers are mostly people who have temporary work in the district. They work in Tambak Lorok and also temporarily reside in the district, but still have a house outside Tambak Lorok. Often the man of a family works in Tambak Lorok, earns money and in this way provides a living for his family living outside the district. So this kind of newcomers Tambak Lorok still has nowadays are actually not really connecting with their neighbours in the district as they only stay temporarily. Therefore there could be said the connectedness of the district is getting worse, but as these new temporary people are mostly busy working and they are not coming in very large numbers, it does not have an impact. At the same time, the other inhabitants are living together for decades in Tambak Lorok, causing an increased feeling of connectedness.

Compared to Bandarharjo, Tambak Lorok lies much lower and even more closely to the sea, therefore they suffer more from land subsidence. As Tambak Lorok also knows a higher density rate, creating a situation of great overbuilding, a lot of pressure is put on the already soft soil. Consequently roads in the district need to be fixed and especially heightened to overcome this problem of land subsidence. A clear example of this is visible in figure 9, where people are rebuilding the street. This image is distinctive for Tambak Lorok as many of the roads in this district need this rebuilding and heightening every few years.



Figure 9: Roadworks in Tambak Lorok

But as this rebuilding and heightening of the roads is often done by the government, they do not rebuild and heighten the houses of people. Inhabitants need to do this themselves otherwise their houses will not be as high as the roads. Only many inhabitants often do not have the money to do so and therefore more often than not, their houses sink. In the part of Tambak Lorok directly bordered to the sea this is a very vivid issue. Also when I spoke with inhabitants in the streets of Tambak Lorok, many told me this is the biggest fear in their lives. Of all the problems they have or they might face in the course of their lives, the fear of getting their houses flooded is both the most realistic one, as the one with the biggest impact. And it is this combination of highest possibility to happen and highest impact, that determine the concept of safety feeling. But it differs from person to person how they think about the land subsidence and their fear for it. One woman said to me she was afraid of the rising sea level, but there was a vacuum system to prevent water getting into their houses. Yet she still had no choice of going anywhere else, so she accepted her reality.

“I feel unsafe because of this industry here. This huge power plant that produces black smoke, I’m afraid this will get me sick. Also there is much rust, it can get in the eyes of my children. But the government only cares around elections times.” – Inhabitant 2 (personal communication, April 9, 2019).

Figure 10 shows the fabric the inhabitant is talking about in the quotation above. The huge emission pipes produce a lot of smoke which gets directly blown to the people living in Tambak Lorok. Moreover this picture is important to show how close inhabitants of Tambak Lorok live to the sea. The road is completely broken up and full of rubbish and boats are off the coast tied to the shore.



Figure 10: The coastline of Tambak Lorok

Tough, due to climate change sea levels are even more rising, inhabitants do not interpret the risks of getting worse than years ago. On the one hand this is caused by the fact inhabitants just are getting used to it, but on the other hand the new approach of the government concerning flooding has also its impact. Compared to twenty years ago, the government is both more conscious and more concerned about the problems of flooding. They introduced a system to prevent flooding from the river running through Semarang. In 2014 even the president visited Tambak Lorok and he named the district and nautical or maritime village, which implies several improvements in the district. Then the district got supervised and the government made a protection line which consist of wave resistance walls. Moreover the government nowadays is checking houses and appoint some houses uninhabitable. When given this appointment, the government gives funds hence the inhabitant can rebuild its house from that money. The government does not pay enough to rebuild the whole house, it is meant as a stimulant for inhabitants to start with rebuilding their houses. But although these measures, inhabitants do see flooding and land subsidence as the biggest cause for not feeling safe in Tambak Lorok.

That is also because crime is not something most inhabitants care about. A woman working for a NGO which helps people improve their skills to get a jobs, said crime rates in general are low in Tambak Lorok. But of all districts in Semarang, Tambak Lorok came up as one of the worst district in terms of crime. This has much to do with the name Tambak Lorok has by most inhabitants of Semarang. Just as Bandarharjo, Tambak Lorok had a name of being poor and most inhabitants committing crimes, but in the course of the years this has changed. Bandarharjo experienced a clear change due to several hard interventions of the government., but Tambak Lorok did not had this clear change. There were improvements made, but they were more spread over a few decades and also had a smaller impact than those in Bandarharjo. Tambak Lorok remained a district with many

bad circumstances. But this is not the way inhabitants of Tambak Lorok interpret it. And as this research is about their feeling and their interpretation of safety, this is what matters.

“So actually the mafia in Tambak Lorok, because the mafia is from Tambak Lorok itself. For people in Tambak Lorok it wouldn't matter for them, because the mafia is from Tambak Lorok. But for the people outside Tambak Lorok it is a problem, so they don't dare to come to Tambak Lorok, because of the mafia.” – Puji Sarwono (personal communication, April 2, 2019)

For people outside Tambak Lorok the district is sometimes a no-go area, but most inhabitants of Tambak Lorok themselves definitely do not think the same about it. This is also due to a phenomenon happening in Bandarharjo as well. The inhabitants of the districts of course sometimes are criminals, but the crimes they commit, they commit them in other districts. And actually this does sound logically, why would you steal from your neighbours, the persons you live together with, if you can steal from unknown people a few kilometres away.

To conclude, connectedness in Tambak Lorok has not changed much over the past twenty years. The majority of inhabitants has lived in the district for so many years, therefore the connectedness is high, but it has not changed significantly. Crime is also still very present, but it is not the cause for inhabitants to feel less safe. In contrary to this, the social vulnerability is a big fear of most inhabitants. But as the risks of getting flood have increased over the past two decades, the government has taken more measures to keep people safe.

6 Conclusion

The last chapter of this thesis will combine all the literature study, data collection and analyses of results to one conclusion. Therefore this chapter will describe and conclude everything from the previous chapters. All of this in order to finally give answers to the main research question of this thesis:

“To which extent does urbanisation influences the safety feeling of inhabitants of Semarang, Java, Indonesia?”

6.1 Conclusion

This research focused on one of the most important processes in the world nowadays or at least in the near future, urbanisation. But as this research assumed urbanisation was most definitely happening in Semarang, there are many differences between districts of the city. Especially looking at the two districts of this thesis' main focus, Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok. In Bandarharjo many improvements done by the government happened relatively short before the timeframe of this research. Hence Bandarharjo is experiencing a huge incoming flow of new people in the set timeframe, in other words urbanisation is at full speed. This contrasts sharp with the situation in Tambak Lorok, where improvements never were very big in one period of time and therefore the district never experienced one big change such as in Bandarharjo. Consequently urbanisation had been gradually happening for almost the whole second half of the last century. Therefore Tambak Lorok is not experiencing a great flow of new incoming people in the timeframe of this research, in fact there are more people leaving the district. This does not make the comparison between these two districts completely irrelevant, but it does lead to several restrictions in concluding things upon relations found between concepts.

So in Bandarharjo improvements were made in the period just before the timeframe of this research and because of that the amount of newcomers increased. This increase continued in the years after the improvements, which fits in the timeframe of this research. But as safety feeling changed dramatically in the period of the improvements, it did not change that much anymore in the period of the timeframe of the past twenty years. If we look back on the conceptual model and how these concepts have changed in the timeframe of this research, a simply clear difference comes up. For as the concepts in the mid-section stretching from urbanisation to safety feeling and the concept of connectedness are in general decreasing in Bandarharjo, the concepts on the right are increasing.

Connectedness is decreasing by the increase of urbanisation and as a consequence of that, the safety feeling is decreasing, just as assumed by the conceptual model. This is because more new people are living in Bandarharjo the connectedness of the inhabitants is decreasing, as newcomers are not immediately well connected in the whole neighbourhood. Less connectedness causes in turn a decrease in safety feeling.

Furthermore unemployment and homelessness both are - although of course sporadically happening - not a serious issue in Bandarharjo. And though poverty is a big issue in Bandarharjo it has not increased over the past twenty years, moreover it is at least not caused by unemployment or homelessness and therefore not by the urbanisation. Perceived crime is the final concept in the mid-section connecting urbanisation with safety feeling. Of all the possible causes for decreasing safety feeling, perceived crime is most clearly not an issue. At first the overall crime is rather decreasing than increasing in Bandarharjo, subsequently inhabitants do not perceive crime as a problem at all.

Most inhabitants are very positive about both the rate and the degree of crime happening in Bandarharjo.

Then looking at the right part of the conceptual model, at first overbuilding is definitely increasing by increasing urbanisation. More people moving to the district of Bandarharjo causing an increase in the demand for houses to live in and also for all kinds of facilities used to sustain their lives. So as overbuilding is very present in Bandarharjo, land subsidence is too. Although less than in Tambak Lorok, also in Bandarharjo many houses flood when seawater levels are rising. Consequently increasing land subsidence causes inhabitants to be more socially vulnerable. This then is leading to a decrease in safety feeling among inhabitants of Bandarharjo. There need to be said the government is more busy with making improvement to stop the flooding and also helps with subsidising people to rebuild their houses. But this is definitely not enough as flooding still happens and the subsidies are both not enough to rebuild houses from and not available for all people.

In Tambak Lorok the case is somewhat the same, as also there criminality is not a factor causing inhabitants to feel less safe. Inhabitants of Tambak Lorok do feel a higher level of connectedness compared to Bandarharjo, but fear of flooding and land subsidence is just as high in both districts. For urbanisation is not really happening in Tambak Lorok in the timeframe of the past twenty years, there is no conclusion drawn from it. The situation in Tambak Lorok does give an indication and confirmation of the situation in Bandarharjo as both districts have a lot of similarities.

So overall in Bandarharjo urbanisation did cause inhabitants to feel a little less safe in their district. On the one hand they do feel less due to the land subsidence and flooding, but the government also takes more action concerning these problems. But reinforced by climate change the overall fear of inhabitants for these processes of land subsidence and flooding has increased. Crime did not increase in the past twenty years and inhabitants also not seem to be bothered much by the crime there is happening. The last possible influence of connectedness is one that also caused an decrease in safety feeling among inhabitants. Because of the urbanisation many new people come to live in Bandarharjo and the inhabitants therefore feel less connected. This has led to the fact inhabitants feel less safe than they did twenty years ago. But as not all possible factors caused a decrease in safety feeling, there only could be said the safety feeling decreased a little.

So urbanisation influences the safety feeling of inhabitants of Semarang to a certain extent, which is somewhat negative, in other words urbanisation via a variety of factors causes a little decrease in safety feeling.

6.2 Reflection & recommendation

To start off with the reflection upon this research, I will try to critically describe the way I worked on all parts consisting this thesis. At first Semarang is a city which met most of the criterions as for being a relatively large city located in the Global South of the world. Therefore I assumed urbanisation would be a phenomenon most definitely happening, making it fulfil the first condition for my research area. And to certain extent this was true, but in which regions or districts of Semarang new people come to live, I did not know. So I discussed both with my student helper at Unika University and asked around during the first interviews I held, which part of Semarang would fit as research area. While also keeping the other important concept safety feeling in mind, in consultation with one person I interviewed, we choose Bandarharjo and Tambak Lorok. Now as came forward in my analysis Tambak Lorok actually does not experience urbanisation for the timeframe of twenty years ago until now. In retrospect, the choice of the two districts was largely based on the name the districts had in terms of criminality and unsafety. Due to the fact urbanisation is not happening in Tambak Lorok I could not really conclude things upon the relations I found for the district. The choice for the research areas therefore could have been picked better.

Further the districts were mostly ideal for conducting my research. They both had a broad history and as I said earlier, they had name and fame in terms of criminality, making it very interesting to speak to inhabitants there. Talking about inhabitants, they were very friendly and most of the time willing to talk with me. As for most inhabitants I spoke in the streets of both the districts were extremely helpful, so were most of the people, which whom I had semi-structured interviews. Often I was invited over to someone's office, offered coffee or tea and in several cases a little typical Indonesian snack. When I spoke with inhabitants of Tambak Lorok and Bandarharjo they gave me a lot of different opinions on how they interpreted crime around them. Moreover in the interviews I held with experts of the districts they told me contradictory things compared to what most of the inhabitants said. This is due to the fact inhabitants are biased when speaking about their own neighbourhood. In the end this was not a real problem as the aim for this research was to find out the interpretation of inhabitants and thus their opinion was key.

Working with a translator during almost all interviews both semi-structured and the informal talks on the street, had several disadvantages. At first not being able to speak the language of your interviewee causes a lower level of trust between each other. Moreover having to rely on translations is risky because you do not know exactly what someone is really saying and you also cannot fully understand the tone with which someone speaks. Furthermore a person can speak for several minutes and then your translator says only a few sentences and you never know which possible important information gets lost in this summarisation. Nevertheless I tried to ask things again when I was not fully satisfied with certain answers and by discussing things unclear at the end, much relevant data was collected.

Interesting aspects of this research on which further research could build upon are to use different factors to measure safety feeling. In this research much of the focus lies on the crime side causing decrease in safety feeling, but there are a lot of other influences of the concept of safety feeling. This could also mean leaving behind urbanisation as starting concept and focusing on many other causes of safety feeling. Moreover as safety feeling can be caused by a variety of factors, one might also focus on only one of the factors used for this research more specifically. Due to limitations in time not all factors used in this research could be fully investigated.

At last further research can be done on a much wider scale. Also here due to time limitations it was only possible to speak to a certain amount of people in the streets. Also more interviews could be conducted and then there could be spoken with a more broad variety of people. People of multiple layers of society and with different kinds of functions or jobs, interesting to the research topic. A greater research area could also give more data and therefore conclusions made upon that data could be more significant.

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Appendices
























Appendix I: Semi-structured interview guide






















1. Could you tell me about yourself and your function?
2. Are there many new people entering Bandarharjo / Tambak Lorok?
3. Do they come from rural areas?
4. Would you call this amount of new people entering the city a problem?
5. Are there enough jobs for all the new people (in general)?
6. Do the new people find a job easily?
7. If so, do they find jobs of any good quality?
8. Are those people able to live adequate from their income?
9. Do you think those new people that cannot get a job, go into crime much?
10. Are those new people able to find good housing?
11. If they end up in inadequate housing, do you think they feel connected to the neighbourhood?
12. Do the new people integrate well into the city?
13. Do you think inhabitants of Bandarharjo / Tambak Lorok in general feel safe?
14. Do you think there is a change in safety feeling of inhabitants of Bandarharjo / Tambak Lorok?
15. Do you think inhabitants of Bandarharjo / Tambar Lorok feel less safe by the new people?

Appendix II: Street interview guide

1. Do you live here?
2. Are you noticing many newcomers in this neighbourhood?
3. Do you feel safe?
4. Why are you feeling safe/not safe?
5. Is there much crime happening here?
6. How is your relationship with the neighbourhood?
7. Are you afraid for flooding and land subsidence?

Appendix III: List of codes

- ▲  Codes (21)
 -  ○ Afraid {21-0}
 -  ○ Arrival new people in city {31-0}
 -  ○ Avoiding places {12-0}
 -  ○ Crowded {11-0}
 -  ○ Connectiveness {40-0}
 -  ○ Crime {99-0}
 -  ○ Departure from rural areas {13-0}
 -  ○ Flooding protection {8-0}
 -  ○ Housing improvement {12-0}
 -  ○ Infrastructure {12-0}
 -  ○ Jobless {18-0}
 -  ○ Land subsidence {11-0}
 -  ○ Low-quality housing {32-0}
 -  ○ Low-quality job {40-0}
 -  ○ Mindset {37-0}
 -  ○ Moving motives {11-0}
 -  ○ Nuisance {6-0}
 -  ○ Security {13-0}
 -  ○ Skill improvement {7-0}
 -  ○ Struggle to survive {41-0}
 -  ○ Trust {28-0}
-  Memos (0)
-  Networks (0)

Search Code Groups		Search Codes			
Code Groups		Name ▲	Grounded	Density	Groups
◇◇ Employment (2)		○ ◇ Afraid	 21	0	[Safety feeling]
◇◇ Improvement (4)		○ ◇ Arrival new people in city	 31	0	[Urban growth]
◇◇ Mindset (1)		○ ◇ Avoiding places	 12	0	[Safety feeling]
◇◇ Poverty (5)		○ ◇ Connectedness	 40	0	[Safety feeling]
◇◇ Safety feeling (7)		○ ◇ Crime	 99	0	[Poverty] [Safety feeling]
◇◇ Urban growth (4)		○ ◇ Crowded	 11	0	[Urban growth]
◇◇ Vulnerability (2)		○ ◇ Departure from rural areas	 13	0	[Urban growth]
		○ ◇ Flooding protection	 8	0	[Improvement]
		○ ◇ Housing improvement	 12	0	[Improvement]
		○ ◇ Infrastructure	 12	0	[Improvement]
		○ ◇ Jobless	 18	0	[Employment] [Poverty]
		○ ◇ Land subsidence	 11	0	[Vulnerability]
		○ ◇ Low-quality housing	 32	0	[Poverty] [Vulnerability]
		○ ◇ Low-quality job	 40	0	[Employment] [Poverty]
		○ ◇ Mindset	 37	0	[Mindset]
		○ ◇ Moving motives	 11	0	[Urban growth]
		○ ◇ Nuisance	 6	0	[Safety feeling]
		○ ◇ Security	 13	0	[Safety feeling]
		○ ◇ Skill improvement	 7	0	[Improvement]
		○ ◇ Struggle to survive	 41	0	[Poverty]
		○ ◇ Trust	 28	0	[Safety feeling]